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New York

President	Mr. Salam	(Lebanon)
Members	Austria	Mr. Mayr-Harting
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Mr. Barbalić
	Brazil	Mrs. Viotti
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	France	Mr. Araud
	Gabon	Mr. Moungara Moussotsi
	Japan	Mr. Okuda
	Mexico	Mr. Heller
	Nigeria	Mrs. Ogwu
	Russian Federation	Mr. Dolgov
	Turkey	Mr. Çorman
	Uganda	Mr. Rugunda
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Parham
	United States of America	Ms. Anderson

Agenda

Peace and security in Africa

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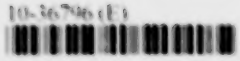

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Peace and security in Africa

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Djibouti, in which he requests that the President of the Republic of Djibouti be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the President of the Republic of Djibouti to participate in the consideration without the right to vote in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I request the Protocol Officer to escort His Excellency Mr. Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of the Republic of Djibouti, to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of the Republic of Djibouti, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of the Republic of Djibouti.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in response to a letter dated 5 May 2010 addressed to the President of the Security Council from the representative of Djibouti.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of the Republic of Djibouti.

President Guelleh (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I wish to express my sincerest congratulations to Lebanon on its return to the world stage and on assuming its rightful place among other nations with pride and dignity. Lebanon has a rich and ancient cultural heritage. It has been plunged into internal strife many times in its long history, but has always been able to overcome adversity with grace and to emerge stronger and more united. I pay tribute to and commend the courage, creativity and tenacity of your people, Mr. President.

I wish to thank you and the members of the Council for this opportunity to present my views on the situation in the Horn of Africa. Unfortunately, I must say that conditions in that part of the world remain, at best, unchanged. Certain current trends, along with worrisome potential developments, offer the prospect of heightened crises and a severe decline in the quality of life for the overwhelming majority of inhabitants in the Horn. This has seriously jeopardized the region's short-term prospects and requires immediate and sustained action by the international community.

My most recent statement to the Council, delivered on 23 October 2008 (see S/PV.6000), remains valid today, given the paralysed nature of the situation and the persistence of the problems facing the region both then and now. However, thanks to improvements in microeconomic management and growing international investor confidence in the continent, the future appears promising. Against a backdrop of unparalleled economic growth, the projected damage resulting from the growing global financial crisis is expected to be minimal. However, although the global economy has not fully collapsed, given the spread, persistence and depth of the crisis, inhabitants of the Horn, and indeed of Africa more generally, have experienced a decline in their quality of life over the past year.

Several factors have contributed to this, afflicting the poorer countries. These factors include chronic drought, the still relatively high food and fuel prices, the increasingly dangerous effects of climate change, stagnant if not declining official development assistance that is well below the levels promised, and declining foreign direct investment in non-fuel sectors in Africa.

Conflict remains at the forefront of the adversities confronting Africa. In this regard, again, against the backdrop of the persistent and violent civil and regional wars that have taken place over the past three decades, my statement in 2008 is just as relevant today. Afflicted as it is by extreme human suffering, abject poverty and grief, the Horn of Africa has known more than its share of misfortune, tragedy, dislocation and destruction, all of which are no longer humanly, socially, economically and politically sustainable. The region is bracing for the outcome of the coming

Sudanese referendum in January to determine the future of its people. The result of the referendum will determine the decisions to be taken concerning the sharing of resources and the demarcation of the border.

Prospects for the Horn as a whole will greatly depend on the outcome of the referendum. The commitment and involvement of the international community is sine qua non to securing an outcome that enjoys the support of all parties and the entire country. At the end of the day, what matters most is that the people be able to enjoy peaceful and productive lives. I wish to emphasize that everyone — not only those of us in the Horn of Africa, but the entire the international community — has a job to do.

In the Horn of Africa, it remains imperative that we address the deteriorating and increasingly chaotic situation in Somalia as it affects neighbouring countries and, through international piracy, the rest of the world. Everyone now agrees that, despite all the enforcement efforts, piracy can be eliminated only by addressing its root causes, such as insecurity, extreme poverty and State failure on land.

Given the harsh measures and tactics adopted by the extremist elements, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) remains under considerable pressure in its quest to govern and administer the country. The ruthless practices and methods adopted by the extremists have only alienated most people, who have been ravaged by famine and civil war over the past two decades. They have been compelled constantly to flee violence, live in abject poverty and precarious conditions in their own country, and cross into neighbouring countries, adding to the misery of already overcrowded camps that lack security and resources.

A number of Governments, including my own, have trained and equipped troops with the aim of gradually retaking the Somali capital from militants backed by Al-Qaida. However, the real number of troops has always been small and fallen far short of the strength necessary to withstand ongoing assaults, let alone contain them. Given the very low morale of troops due to poor conditions of service and lack of pay, most have failed to perform their duties as expected. Any Government offensive to uproot the insurgents from Mogadishu will therefore require a series of serious prior corrective measures in the security sector.

The sooner we understand that Somalia is in a tragic situation that deserves our full sympathy and unwavering and undivided attention, the better. We have routinely been subject over the years to mind-numbing statistics about the plight of Somalia's civilian population. Indiscriminate mortar attacks, the use of civilians as human shields, the millions living in makeshift camps on the outskirts of the city, public beheadings, the amputation of limbs, women being stoned to death, and so on are but a few examples of daily human outrages occurring in Somalia. Previously, it was the warlords who perpetrated such heinous crimes; now it is the militants, extremists, opportunists and religious zealots who are running this tragic show.

Daily developments in Somalia do not, of course, bode well for the survival of the TFG. The international community seems to be in no hurry to shift its thinking from the business-as-usual mode to one that would demonstrate a determination to save the people of Somalia from mayhem, destruction and slow death. It is against this backdrop of despair, hopelessness and the imminent demise of the TFG that I formulate the following scenario for consideration and action by the international community.

First, we are deeply disturbed at the continuing internal political squabbles that threaten the very existence of the TFG. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development, well-meaning Governments and organizations, and the wider international community must step in to intervene before matters get out of hand. That is both crucial and urgent. Pressure must be brought to bear now, without further delay, on the major divisive elements within the TFG. They must be warned in no uncertain terms that they cannot continue to undermine the Government.

Secondly, we must also understand that the TFG's authority is fast shrinking with the advances being made every day by insurgents throughout the country. It is no secret that the TFG controls only a few blocks in Mogadishu, and that thanks largely to the African Union Mission in Somalia. This is no doubt a dangerous, senseless and an unsustainable situation. Let us imagine for a moment a city of over 2 million people under siege by several militias and marauding fanatical gangs, while the legitimate Government has been rendered politically and militarily irrelevant and inconsequential.

The only way we can hope to bring a semblance of peace and security to Somalia is first and foremost to recognize and accept the inevitable. In order to end two decades of civil war, we need to start where it all began — in Mogadishu. To that end, I would ask Council members to put aside all the rhetoric, assumptions, analyses, conditionalities, reticence and indifference that long pervaded the Somali dossier. Let us decide once and for all, in the absence of other options, to clear Mogadishu and its surroundings of extremist militias in order to secure the capital, restore law and order, and ensure a functioning Government that will gradually restore all vital services, while United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations begin establishing their presence in the capital.

Many will no doubt be sceptical, but let us face the reality that, without capturing or prevailing in Mogadishu, I cannot see how we can avert the possibility of Somalia plunging into an avoidable disintegration. Moreover, Mogadishu's liberation would give the Government a significant solid foothold for returning the entire country to its control. This would be the first but most important step in a series of efforts leading to the establishment of a sound Government able to expand its reach and authority across the country. What I call for will require a dynamic change in the thinking and planning of the Security Council and the Secretariat. It will need a gigantic shift from the status quo to a resolute determination to resuscitate Somalia once and forever.

All agree that reconciliation and political compromises must continue to be aggressively pursued in Somalia at all times. However, it is fair to say that the current explosive situation in the country is not, strictly speaking, due to lack of consensus, inclusiveness or peace initiatives. In fact, the Somalis have become allergic to the terms "peace process" and "reconciliation". They have heard them all too often. What, then, are the insurgents fighting for? Without a doubt, their goal is to topple the internationally recognized weak TFG because that will enable groups linked to Al-Qaida to impose their brand of governance throughout central and southern Somalia before spreading to other relatively stable parts of the country, threatening peace and security in the entire region.

The unfolding tragedy in Somalia is not that of the Somalis and the countries of the region alone; rather, it is of concern to us all. That war-torn country's predicament can no longer be shunned, postponed or minimized. We cannot remain indifferent. Helping Somalia to defend and protect itself is our responsibility and an obligation we cannot shirk or postpone under any pretext. It is time for that lingering reticence to give way to proactive and pragmatic engagement in Somalia in order to achieve enduring peace, security and stability.

As members of the Security Council are aware, my country has always actively facilitated and supported the many ongoing efforts against the threat of piracy in the Gulf of Aden and beyond. While piracy is yet to be completely eliminated, the focused and intense collaboration of the world's naval forces is helping to effectively combat the attractiveness and rewards of this scourge. The efforts to eliminate piracy have undoubtedly helped reduce it in the Gulf of Aden and have extended into the wider Indian Ocean.

The impact of two recent developments is worth noting. The first was the Security Council's recent adoption of resolution 1851 (2008), authorizing anti-piracy measures on land with the aim of severely crippling the pirates' capacities. The other was the capture of a pirate base by one of the main rebel groups fighting for control of the country. Despite the rebel group's assertions, no one is sure at this stage whether it will fight piracy or join it, given that activity's lucrative returns. Paradoxically, piracy has brought increased attention to the country's dire conditions of lawlessness, joblessness and political paralysis.

Two years ago, Eritrea decided one fine day that it was time to drag Djibouti into the conflict in the Horn of Africa. Eritrea's logic was that no country should remain immune to conflict; hence its blatant aggression against my country's territorial integrity. The military clashes in June 2008 and the ensuing bloodshed resulted in deaths, injuries and prisoners taken on both sides, as well as the occupation of Ras Doumeira and Doumeira Island.

The unanimous condemnation of Eritrea by the international community, including the Security Council, insisted on the immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of forces to the status quo ante. My country heeded that call and withdrew its forces accordingly. To this day, Eritrea's response has been to deny the very existence of a military confrontation, to reject any withdrawal and to condemn the Security Council's swift action of 12 June 2008.

As the Council may recall, in the ensuing two years we have been intensively involved with all subregional, regional and international organizations with the aim of redressing, via an immediate withdrawal, the illegal and unprovoked occupation of my country. In this respect, my country has never wavered in its devotion to and faith in the Charter of the United Nations. This is the second time in two years that I have addressed the Council about the occupation of my territory. My Prime Minister has done likewise.

This demonstrates the fact that Eritrea's reckless incursion remains our greatest national security concern. Indeed, we have been vindicated by the Council's successive actions involving the fact-finding mission's report (S/2008/602), its statements and resolutions. Those include in particular resolution 1907 (2009) of 23 September 2009, which imposed sanctions on Eritrea for its misguided and contemptuous rejection of the Council's demands that it end its occupation and engage in serious dialogue and diplomatic efforts leading to a mutually acceptable settlement of the border conflict. The resolution also demands, in paragraph 4, that Eritrea make available information pertaining to Djiboutian combatants missing in action since the clashes of 10 to 12 June 2008, so that those concerned may ascertain the presence and condition of Djiboutian prisoners of war.

Let me state in the clearest terms before this body that my country's paramount interest is to live in peace with its neighbours while pursuing internal stability and economic growth. We have no territorial ambitions other than to live within secure borders and to safeguard our sovereignty and territorial integrity. It was against this backdrop that we welcomed the long-awaited visit to Asmara by the Security Council sanctions Committee on Somalia and Eritrea. We had truly hoped that Eritrea, having finally accepted that visit, would make the most of such an important encounter by opening sincere discussions with all parties concerned and beginning to engage positively with a genuine desire for a lasting settlement of all outstanding issues.

To our great surprise, however, the latest position paper submitted by Eritrea to the Chairman of the sanctions Committee contains the usual litany of unsubstantiated charges, false allegations and denials. It would appear that, rather than take advantage of this long-awaited meeting to address key issues raised in resolutions 1844 (2008) and 1907 (2009), Eritrea chose instead to pursue a strategy of repackaging its familiar, obsolete demagoguery and to deliberately squander a golden opportunity. Clearly, its attitude towards the Council and its neighbours displays cynicism and contempt, always with the intent to distort known facts, distract attention, defer action and create confusion.

None of this, I am sure, will convince a wary and well-informed Council, some of whose members are first-hand witnesses to the facts and actions relevant to this matter. I must seriously caution against any notion that Eritrea is changing or cooperating following the committee's visit to Asmara. We believe that it would be truly premature, indeed unwarranted, to further confuse the goodwill that may have been displayed during the visit with Eritrea's unbending and unaltered positions on the entire range of outstanding issues. Not one iota of its obligations under the Council's resolutions has been fulfilled or is even being considered for implementation. Let us not rush to judgment, or we will simply be overstating a non-existent and contrived good will on the part of Eritrea. Eritrea has not changed and has no intention of doing so. What we see is all simply a charade.

While we are all focused, as we should be, on Eritrea's occupation of parts of my territory, I wish to share with the Council some other disturbing new developments. For almost a year, Eritrea has conducted a systematic campaign to destabilize my country by training infiltrators who sabotage infrastructure and target national events in rural and urban areas in order to cause fear and friction. We have been very vigilant to this real, ongoing threat, which has already been carried out within my country. I am happy to report that, among the many infiltrators we have recently captured, is the leader of this band of saboteurs.

It will be recalled that resolution 1907 (2009) underscored the many ways in which Eritrea is undermining its neighbours, including by harbouring, financing, supporting, organizing, training and inciting individuals or groups to perpetrate acts of violence or terrorist acts that seek to destabilize the region, and in particular to incite violence and civil strife in Djibouti. I urge members of the Council to come to grips with the wider implications of Eritrea's intransigence and increasing violence. The escalating tensions and conflicts and the breakdown of law and order so widespread in the Horn of Africa could be merely a

prelude to a much worse situation unless their many causes are adequately and seriously addressed.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I thank His Excellency the President of Djibouti for his statement.

I now give the floor to Council members who would like to speak.

Mr. Rugunda (Uganda): I welcome His Excellency President Ismail Omar Guelleh of Djibouti and thank him for his comprehensive and insightful statement on several issues pertaining to the Horn of Africa. His address has come at an opportune time, when the Council is seized with peace and security issues in the region, including the border dispute between Djibouti and Eritrea, the situation in Somalia and the fight against piracy off the coast of Somalia.

Uganda underscores the need for the peaceful resolution of conflicts in the region to ensure durable peace and security. In that regard, we take this opportunity to commend President Guelleh for the positive role Djibouti is playing in the region, especially through the Djibouti peace process that has led to the current Transitional Federal Government (TFG), Parliament and other institutions that are striving to restore stability in Somalia.

We are convinced that the Djibouti peace process represents the best opportunity for lasting peace in Somalia. We therefore commend the continuing efforts of Djibouti in supporting the TFG, especially in the security sector, and its recent mediation efforts aimed at promoting reconciliation in Somalia.

In January and December 2009, the Security Council adopted resolutions 1862 (2009) and 1907 (2009), respectively. We commend Djibouti for fulfilling its obligations under those resolutions and its commitment to finding a peaceful resolution to the border conflict with Eritrea. It is regrettable that all efforts to get similar cooperation from Eritrea have not yet been successful. We call upon Eritrea to comply with its obligations, as spelled out in Security Council resolutions, to promote peace and stability in the region.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): I naturally welcome the presence of the President of the Republic of Djibouti, Mr. Ismail Omar Guelleh. The French delegation has taken note with much interest of his analysis, while the situation in the Horn of Africa remains very unstable.

Fighting has stopped in Ras Doumeira and Doumeira Island, but almost two years after Eritrea's attack on Djibouti positions, not only is the conflict still unresolved, but the Djibouti authorities have no news of the soldiers captured by Eritrea. On 12 June 2008, the Security Council condemned Eritrea's military actions and asked the two parties to withdraw their forces to the positions of the status quo ante. While Djibouti did this immediately, Eritrea still refuses to do so, in spite of the adoption of resolution 1862 (2009) on January 2009 and then, under Chapter VII of the Charter, of resolution 1907 (2009) last December. To date, Asmara has rejected any international mission to the area.

The Council thus raised the pressure on Eritrea, which was hit with an arms embargo and individual sanctions. The Secretary-General is ready to appoint experts to the Monitoring Group working on sanctions for Somalia and Eritrea. We eagerly await their recommendations in the sanctions Committee, as well as the report on the implementation of resolution 1907 (2009) that the Secretary-General will present to the Council in June.

It is urgent that the situation on the ground be settled peacefully and, beyond that, that the two countries resolve their border disputes in a sustainable and peaceful way.

The Eritrean authorities have sent a series of positive signals in the past few weeks, such as their reception of the Chairman of the sanctions Committee, Mexican Ambassador Claude Heller. It is essential that Eritrea set no preconditions to settling its problem with Djibouti and that it move from words to deeds. France encourages all efforts towards dialogue and mediation pursuant to the Security Council's resolutions, which require, inter alia, the return of Eritrean forces to the status quo ante.

I also thank President Guelleh for the information he has given to the Council on the situation in Somalia. While the Istanbul Conference will open in a few days, the Somali Government must come together, under the authority of President Sharif, and deepen the political dialogue.

Like the Ambassador of Uganda, I should like here to pay a tribute to President Guelleh for Djibouti's essential role in seeking a solution to the Somali crisis. The political agreement that is the key to the reconciliation process was negotiated in Djibouti. It is

on Djiboutian territory that the Djibouti and French forces have begun to train Somali soldiers. Djibouti has thus facilitated the training operation for 2,000 soldiers that the European Union is launching this month, in close cooperation with the African Union Mission in Somalia. Beyond the political events of the last few days, the most important thing is that the Transitional Federal Government continues to strengthen itself militarily so as to be able to provide the Somali people with the basic services they need. Finally, as we all know, Djibouti is playing a decisive role in fighting piracy off the coast of Somalia.

France hopes that the Council will continue to closely follow this situation and would like to thank the Special Representative Ould Abdallah for his efforts.

Mr. Dolgov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We, too, welcome the participation in today's meeting of the President of Djibouti, Mr. Guelleh, and thank him for his assessments.

Unfortunately, there has still been no progress in the settlement of the Djibouti-Eritrea border conflict. Unlike Djibouti, Eritrea has ignored resolutions 1862 (2009) and 1907 (2009). To date, diplomatic efforts to unblock the situation have not been very effective.

In adopting resolution 1907 (2009) on sanctions against Eritrea, the Council appropriately reacted to this degenerating conflict. We expect full implementation by all parties of that Council decision in the interests of strengthening peace and stability in the Horn of Africa. Moreover, we are convinced targeted sanctions against Eritrea must be accompanied by reliable evidence of the involvement of specific individuals in unlawful acts. That is an important principle in the context of the Council's practice of imposing sanctions as a whole.

It is our view that Eritrea will resume constructive interaction with the international community, including the leadership of the Secretariat, for a prompt, effective settlement of the situation in the region. That is also important for strengthening the positive momentum in the peace process in Somalia.

The attempts of an intransigent opposition to attack the positions of Government troops and the African Union Mission in Somalia seriously undermine the efforts of the Transitional Federal Government to stabilize the situation and establish effective leadership in the country. The civilian population and staff of the United Nations and humanitarian organizations remain under threat, exacerbating an already grievous humanitarian situation in Somalia. The agenda includes the strengthening of the coordination of international efforts to assist the Transitional Federal Government in the fields of security and capacity-building and in discharging its management and legal functions. We anticipate that the upcoming Istanbul Conference on Somalia will enable the international community to focus its attention on the critical needs of the Somalis. Continuing support is also required for the African Union Mission in Somalia, which remains an important stabilizing factor there. It is vital to accelerate the process of reaching the Mission's full troop level and to ensure appropriate logistical support.

We reaffirm once again that the Russian Federation continues to support the efforts made by the President of Somalia and the Transitional Federal Government to achieve national reconciliation and peace in the country on the basis of the Djibouti Agreement. The international community and the Security Council view most positively and highly appreciate the important political mediation role played by Djibouti and President Guelleh.

In this situation, we must attach high importance to the role of the present Somalia sanctions regime, which is designed to shut down the channels of support to extremists. We call on all countries, particularly those in the Horn of Africa region, to strictly comply with the relevant Council resolutions.

The problem of piracy as a factor in the security situation affects the interests of practically all countries in the region and elsewhere in the world. Russia continues to participate actively in international efforts to neutralize this threat, because a long-term solution of the problem is intimately linked to the prospects for a successful settlement in Somalia.

The question of judicial prosecution of the pirates remains unresolved. We hope for a prompt start of preparatory work to establish special judicial chambers and an international tribunal on piracy, based on international practice and Security Council resolution 1918 (2010).

Mr. Parham (United Kingdom): Like my colleagues, I would very much like to welcome His Excellency President Guelleh to the Security Council this morning and to thank him for his very useful briefing and thoughts. The United Kingdom applauds

the positive work of Djibouti in support of peace in the Horn of Africa. Djibouti has played an important role in efforts to achieve a more peaceful and stable Somalia, including by hosting the Djibouti peace process and, more recently, through its support for the development of the Somalia constitution and the training of Somali security forces.

Djibouti also makes a key contribution to ongoing anti-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden. The United Kingdom is grateful for the importance Djibouti attaches to the Djibouti Code of Conduct and for the allowing the use of port and shore facilities to ensure that warships protecting the Gulf of Aden trade artery are as effective as possible.

Somalia continues to be one of the most complex challenges on the Security Council's agenda. The situation remains extremely fragile, as President Guelleh has just outlined. The humanitarian crisis, continued instability, the threat to wider regional stability and piracy all remain of grave concern. This situation is not a just a tragedy for the people of Somalia; it is not just a threat to stability in the region: it is also a major concern for all of us.

We continue to support the Transitional Federal Government and its efforts to engage in dialogue and reconciliation. The African Union Mission in Somalia is playing a critical role in Somalia, and we are grateful to Uganda and Burundi for their continuing commitment to that difficult operation. We condemn all those who seek to undermine the Djibouti peace process and the Transitional Federal Government. To ensure progress in Somalia, it is vital that the activities of spoilers be addressed.

It was on the basis of Eritrea's violation of Security Council resolutions on Somalia and Djibouti that the United Kingdom supported resolution 1907 (2009) in December. The resolution followed a specific request by two regional organizations, the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, for the Security Council to take such action. The United Kingdom calls on the Government of Eritrea to comply fully with all Security Council resolutions and to take the practical steps set out in resolution 1907 (2009). The Council would of course respond to evidence of Eritrea's compliance with Security Council resolutions. We also encourage greater engagement by Eritrea with international partners to help increase stability in the Horn.

The United Kingdom remains concerned about the unresolved border dispute between Eritrea and Djibouti. We urge Eritrea to engage with the United Nations on this issue and with regional mediation efforts. It is important that both countries be able to work together to resolve this situation.

We should also continue to seek the resolution of other threats to stability in the region. The long-standing border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea is of great concern to the United Kingdom. We call on both countries to implement fully the findings of the Eritrea-Ethiopia Boundary Commission, as set down in the Algiers Agreement. We urge both Governments to seek to establish a dialogue between their two countries in order to begin the normalization of relations. It is vital that all States in the region engage constructively to achieve progress on the range of difficult issues that Horn of Africa currently faces.

Mr. Okuda (Japan): I would like to thank President Guelleh for his briefing. We recognize that Djibouti has a significant geopolitical and strategic role to play in the Horn of Africa region. The Government of Japan has been engaging in anti-piracy activities in that area, deploying two naval vessels and two P-3C maritime patrol aircraft from Djibouti in cooperation with the Government of Djibouti.

Japan also supports building the capacity of the States neighbouring Somalia, including through the establishment of the training centre in Djibouti with the support of the International Maritime Organization Djibouti Code of Conduct Trust Fund, which was initiated by Japan. I would like to take this opportunity to express sincere appreciation to Djibouti for that country's tremendous support. Japan hopes to continue to build upon its strong partnership with Djibouti.

I carefully listened to President Guelleh's statement on the situation in Somalia, in which he described the highly volatile situation there, as recent developments attest. Japan commends Djibouti for its active contribution to bringing about the stabilization of Somalia. As was expressed in the Security Council debate last week (see S/PV.6313), it is essential that the peace process based on the Djibouti Agreement be promoted in parallel with the improvement of the security situation and development in Somalia. Japan is determined to continue to work in cooperation with Djibouti towards peace and stability in Somalia.

With regard to the border dispute between Djibouti and Eritrea, it is regrettable that no substantive progress has been seen in the implementation of resolution 1862 (2009). It is our view that Eritrea must cooperate in the search for a solution through dialogue. In this context, Japan welcomes the efforts among neighbouring countries to promote dialogue, including those of Qatar.

The Security Council is expecting to receive a report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of resolution 1907 (2009), including on the border issue between Djibouti and Eritrea. Japan intends to follow up on this matter in the discussion to be conducted following the publication of the report.

In closing, we would like reiterate our determination, as a responsible member of the Security Council, to work towards achieving stability in Somalia, in the Djibouti-Eritrea situation and in the Horn of Africa as a whole.

Mr. Heller (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): We welcome the presence of President Ismail Omar Guelleh of the Republic of Djibouti. We welcome his initiative to address the Security Council. We feel that it is extremely valuable for the Security Council to obtain directly from the region's leaders the information and inputs it needs to shape its views and properly assess situations as complicated as the one that the Horn of Africa is facing. That has been the case today with the analysis presented by President Guelleh.

My delegation will closely follow the development of the situation in the region, because we are convinced that the only viable option for resolving the various current crises and disputes is dialogue and cooperation between the countries of the region with the international community, as well as through respect for the efforts of the United Nations and the decisions of the Security Council.

On the specific issue of the territorial dispute between Djibouti and Eritrea, we believe that efforts should be pursued to open a constructive dialogue between the parties and to facilitate the work and good offices of the Secretary-General. We appreciate the parties' continued avoidance of the use of force. We urge Eritrean Government authorities to send clear signals of their willingness to cooperate on this issue, bearing in mind Eritrea's obligation as a Member of the United Nations to comply with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

Moreover, we view as positive the willingness of Eritrean officials to engage in more constructive communication, as demonstrated during my visit to that country at the helm of the sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009), on Somalia and Eritrea. We trust that the Eritrean Government will take concrete steps in the framework of the dialogue begun with the Committee, and that the Council and the relevant regional stakeholders will take advantage of the new conditions to promote and facilitate a substantial convergence that will facilitate the peaceful resolution of the current dispute with Djibouti. We hope that the Government of Eritrea will meet the expectations that have been raised and seize the opportunity to commit itself to a constructive relationship with the international community.

In addition, given the complex situation of instability in the region, my delegation reiterates the need for a coherent and comprehensive approach to the situation on the Horn of Africa. In its deliberations on the issue, the Council must take into account any factor that could have a negative impact on regional peace efforts. Although some situations are more pressing than others, the Council and the international community should address the various elements of the crisis in the region with equal attention.

Lastly, we reiterate our gratitude to the Government of Djibouti for its unflagging spirit of cooperation and openness, as well as for its decisive contribution to efforts to establish stability and lasting peace in Somalia and the region.

Mrs. Ogwu (Nigeria): We want to add our voice to those that have expressed appreciation to President Ismail Omar Guelleh for his very insightful briefing and his positive contributions to the peace process and stability in the region.

Nigeria is concerned that political instability, civil strife and inter-State conflicts have too long been the defining features of the Horn of Africa. The Eritrea-Djibouti border problem and the situations in the Sudan and Somalia have had far-reaching implications for regional peace and security. The situation is exacerbated by transnational and cross-cutting challenges, such as religious fundamentalism, the proliferation of arms, terrorism, piracy, the insecurity of borders and the race for exclusive access to natural resources. We therefore welcome the

concrete steps enumerated by President Guelleh to address those problems.

In the Sudan, the recently concluded country-wide elections represent a political milestone and a step in the right direction towards consolidating the 2011 referendum. We call on all parties to demonstrate greater commitment to the remaining aspects of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Indeed, this is the time to intensify the Darfur peace negotiations and to recommit the parties to resolving all outstanding issues, especially those related to wealth-sharing and other referendum issues.

We believe that without peace in Somalia there will be no peace in the Horn of Africa. For that reason, we share President Guelleh's view that the way forward is for the international community to tackle — in his words — the root causes of Somalia's enduring conflict. Stabilizing Somalia is indeed a priority that requires firm commitment. One way of doing that would be to fully support the Transitional Federal Government in confronting the extremely volatile and unpredictable security challenges in the country. Until those formidable challenges are systematically and comprehensively tackled, the problems of insecurity and instability in the region will endure.

The international community must be focused on the full implementation of the Djibouti Agreement and on Somalia's economic development needs. In that regard, we support the Istanbul Conference to be held this weekend. Increased support is also required for Somali security forces through strategic training and the provision of adequate resources for the payment of salaries and the implementation of the national security and stabilization plan.

The crises in that region have several cross-cutting regional dimensions. A concerted regional approach is therefore a critical factor to the return of peace and stability to the region. We commend the African Union and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development for playing significant and crucial roles in galvanizing and reinforcing the search for peace and stability in the region, including in Somalia and the Sudan. With peace in Somalia and the Sudan, Eastern Africa would be a very strategic and important business location in Africa. Peace in the region would also have a profound impact on peace in Central Africa. It would give impetus to the realization of the goals being promoted by the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa.

We believe that the region will require the constructive participation and contribution of Eritrea to achieve comprehensive peace in the region. That is why we encourage Eritrea to support the Djibouti peace process and the reconciliation efforts in Somalia. We encourage Eritrea to comply with the provisions of resolution 1907 (2009) in order to pave the way for the eventual lifting of the existing sanctions based on the progress that has been made.

Ms. Anderson (United States of America): Let me, too, welcome President Guelleh and thank him for his remarks and his important leadership on the many critical issues facing Djibouti and the region, with a focus on increasing the well-being of the people, fighting piracy and working for peace.

The Horn of Africa faces many difficult political and security challenges, from counter-terrorism to urgent humanitarian issues. We welcome Djibouti's constructive role in working with States of the region and the international community to address them. Today, I would like to focus on three points: Djibouti's leadership in providing stability to the Horn of Africa, the critical role played by the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the challenges facing the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), and, finally, the unresolved border dispute between Djibouti and Eritrea.

Djibouti has an important role to play in promoting regional stability. Djibouti has hosted important discussions on regional peace and security, including through the Djibouti peace process and International Maritime Organization conferences on counter-piracy initiatives, among other things. Djibouti has also committed 450 soldiers to AMISOM and is involved in training the Somali national security force.

Amid the complexity of the situation in Somalia, the United States underscores its ongoing support for the Djibouti peace process and the Transitional Federal Government. Despite recent political events, the TFG needs to be unified in its efforts to implement the Djibouti peace process and to focus on the critical issues at hand, including governance, security and the provision of services to the Somali people in a transparent and accountable manner. It is also important that the TFG work to expand its base of

support, even as it makes every effort to include women leaders in the political process.

The United States is committed to working with those in Somalia who seek reconciliation, peace, stability and economic development. We urge the TFG to find creative ways to build a better future for Somalia and its people. We look forward to the United Nations development conference on Somalia that begins in Istanbul on 21 May. That will be an important opportunity to demonstrate the international community's resolve to work with Somalis towards our common goals.

The United States supports the development of a capable professional national security force for the TFG. We commend the Ugandan and Burundi troop contributions to AMISOM, which now total 6,200 personnel. The United States has supported stability in the region, with more than $174 million directed to providing predeployment training, equipment and logistical support to countries contributing troops to AMISOM. We recognize that very difficult challenges remain. Somalia's instability has encouraged extremism and led to a growing refugee problem in the region.

Eritrea has failed to comply with resolution 1862 (2009). It has not withdrawn its troops from the contested area, nor has it engaged in dialogue with Djibouti or initiated discussions with the United Nations. Moreover, the Monitoring Group of the Security Council's Somalia-Eritrea sanctions Committee has noted in past reports that Eritrea has provided funding, weapons and training to armed insurgent groups that perpetuate war in Somalia and thereby violate resolution 1844 (2008). That threatens international peace and security by destabilizing the region, including Djibouti.

One reason why the United States supported last year's resolution 1907 (2009) is because of those violations and actions. That resolution created a robust sanctions regime that includes an arms embargo, cargo inspections and seizure in certain situations, and targeted measures for individuals and entities listed by the Council's Somalia-Eritrea sanctions Committee.

Resolution 1907 (2009) is a clear demonstration of the international community's resolve to take action against those who threaten the peace and security of the region. The resolution is aimed at preventing support to armed opposition groups seeking to destabilize the region. It will also help prevent the obstruction of resolution 1862 (2009) concerning Djibouti. It will help prevent obstruction of the Monitoring Group's work, violations of the arms embargo and harbouring, financing, facilitating, supporting, organizing, training or inciting individuals or groups to commit acts of violence or terrorism against other States or their citizens.

The United States is working with the sanctions Committee to ensure that regional spoilers and violators of the sanctions are held accountable. All Member States have obligations under the sanctions regime to enforce the arms embargoes, and we ask Member States to share information on the designated groups and individuals with the Committee.

We look forward to the continued good work of the Monitoring Group. We hope that the Secretary-General will be able to report to the Council, in his upcoming report, on Eritrea's compliance with resolution 1907 (2009) and that positive steps are being taken with the States involved.

Eritrea should withdraw its troops from the contested area, engage in dialogue with Djibouti and stop financing and supporting armed insurgent groups in Somalia. The United States calls on Eritrea to move forward in resolving its border issues peacefully, in accordance with resolution 1862 (2009), and to take steps to avoid further conflict in a region that already faces tremendous instability.

Mr. Mayr-Harting (Austria) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I would like to thank His Excellency the President of the Republic of Djibouti, Mr. Guelleh, for his presence among us today and for his important briefing.

(*spoke in English*)

In terms of talented and gifted individuals, cultural heritage and natural resources, the Horn of Africa is one of the richest regions in the world. At the same time, that very region has faced instability, insecurity, economic crisis and high political tension for decades now.

Only a week ago, the Security Council discussed what that means, especially for the Somali population. In that context, I would like to thank you, Mr. President, and Djibouti for playing a stabilizing role in the region, inter alia, by having hosted the negotiations between the then Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the Alliance for the

Re-Liberation of Somalia and by hosting a regional training centre for maritime officials, in connection with the Djibouti Code of Conduct on the repression of piracy.

Concerning the situation in Somalia, let me take this opportunity to once again confirm the support of my country for the Djibouti peace process, the TFG and the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM). We call on all parties to join the peace process, and we urge the Government to rapidly resolve the internal disputes and ambiguities as important challenges lie ahead, among them the drafting of the constitution. In that context, we condemn any attempt to undermine or halt the peace process by attacking the TFG, AMISOM or humanitarian deliveries or by supporting the insurgents. Any person or entity committing such acts risks facing sanctions imposed by the Security Council.

I listened with interest to what Ambassador Heller, Chairman of the sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009), has just told us about his trip to the region, and we look forward to the full report on it. We call on the Eritrean Government to urgently address the concerns of the Security Council and the international community, more particularly by fulfilling Eritrea's obligations under resolution 1907 (2009) and other relevant Security Council resolutions.

At the same time, in more general terms, we believe and hope that the countries of the Horn will assume their responsibility for bringing peace and stability to the region. Deep-rooted conflicts, such as the border conflict between Eritrea and Djibouti and the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, need to be addressed urgently for the sake of the people in the Horn.

It is vital to continue to search for a solution to the underlying political problems. Therefore, we also welcome all oongoing mediation efforts by countries in the region and urge the countries concerned to engage constructively. No opportunity for dialogue should be missed.

Mrs. Viotti (Brazil): Let me join previous speakers in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of the Republic of Djibouti, and thank him for his presentation.

I would like to commend Djibouti for its role in the Horn of Africa and for its efforts to promote peace and stability in Somalia. President Guelleh's sobering remarks about the situation in Somalia deserve careful consideration, especially at a time of rising divisions within the Transitional Federal Government (TFG). The upcoming conference on Somalia in Istanbul will be an opportunity to reflect on how best to reinforce our actions and strengthen the international community's assistance to the TFG.

Brazil welcomes Djibouti's commitment to a peaceful solution of the border conflict with Eritrea, its continued restraint on the ground, and its full compliance with the Council's presidential statement (S/PRST/2008/20) and two resolutions on the issue. With the African Union, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, we call upon the Eritrean Government to acknowledge the conflict and engage with Djibouti to effectively find a mutually acceptable solution.

Brazil is also concerned about the situation of Djiboutians taken prisoner during the 2008 hostilities. We urge Eritrea to provide information on their situation and to grant the International Committee of the Red Cross access to them. Resolution 1907 (2009), which imposed sanctions on Eritrea, created an opportunity for a review of the issue within 180 days of its adoption. The date is fast approaching. We encourage Eritrea not to miss that window of opportunity.

The Security Council must take a balanced and consistent approach to peace, stability and territorial integrity throughout the Horn of Africa. Without prejudice to the particular characteristics of each conflict, we should consider the regional dimensions and the interplay among the various situations in the Horn of Africa.

That means that the Council needs also to effectively address the border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea. A solution to that problem has been lacking for too long. At stake are long-term peace and security in the region and the credibility of the Council.

Mr. Çorman (Turkey): I too would like to warmly welcome His Excellency President Ismail Omar Guelleh. We are honoured by his presence. His statement, for which we thank him and which we greatly appreciate, is further testament to the important role Djibouti plays in its region in the search for peace and stability.

Having special ties with Djibouti, Turkey commends its constructive efforts, especially in the context of Somalia. Indeed, the peace process in Somalia was crafted in Djibouti, and today it still bears the name "Djibouti peace process". Likewise, in the context of the fight against piracy, there is the Djibouti Code of Conduct, which we greatly welcome. Also, Somalia's security forces are trained in Djibouti. Those examples alone are sufficient to illustrate Djibouti's constructive contribution to the resolution of the Somali crisis.

Starting on Friday, 21 May, there will be an important international conference on Somalia, which Turkey will host in Istanbul. The Istanbul Conference will provide us with the opportunity to take stock of where we are and discuss practical ideas and suggestions that we hope will strengthen Somalia's prospects for the future. The high-level session of the Conference, to be held on 22 May, will set the stage for a comprehensive discussion of various aspects of the Somali crisis. We intend at the end of the Conference to convey a strong message of political support and solidarity to the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia. In that context, we are encouraged by the fact that the Foreign Minister of Djibouti will attend the Istanbul Conference. We strongly believe that Djibouti's participation in and contribution to the Istanbul Conference will strengthen our efforts.

Finally, we listened very carefully to President Guelleh's views and remarks about the border dispute with Eritrea. We believe that Djibouti deserves the support of the international community, particularly as regards the implementation of resolution 1862 (2009). Therefore, we encourage all relevant parties to comply with the provisions of that resolution without further delay and to facilitate a swift and peaceful settlement of this problem on the basis of dialogue and cooperation.

Mr. Barbalić (Bosnia and Herzegovina): I should like to welcome and thank His Excellency Mr. Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of the Republic of Djibouti, for his presence and for his statement to the Council. We appreciate the constructive role played by Djibouti in the region and applaud President Guelleh's personal efforts in that regard.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is concerned about violations of the sanctions regime, which are mentioned in the report of the Somalia-Eritrea Monitoring Group, transmitted by a letter dated 10 March 2010 (see S/2010/91). In that respect, we would like to pay tribute to Ambassador Heller for his hard work as Chairman of the Committee pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) concerning Somalia and Eritrea. We hope that his recent visit to the region will have concrete effects.

We were also concerned as we listened to the statement of President Guelleh; we understand the call for urgent and firm involvement of all stakeholders that can contribute to the common aim of achieving peace and security in the region of the Horn of Africa.

Bosnia and Herzegovina has been consistent in its position that international conflicts, including those originating from border disputes, should be resolved by peaceful means and in compliance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations. In that regard, we welcome all efforts by the United Nations and by regional organizations, in particular the African Union and the League of Arab States, to try to help the parties de-escalate tension and move towards a peaceful solution to the crisis. We sincerely hope that those efforts will be honestly and wholeheartedly accepted by all parties.

On the situation in Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina reiterates its full support for the Transitional Federal Government and for the Djibouti peace process, which depends not only on internal factors but also on sincere cooperation by the countries of the region. We call on all parties concerned to genuinely respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Somalia and to make a greater contribution to peace and security in that country.

With grave concern, Bosnia and Herzegovina shares the position expressed by other Council members with regard to the fight against piracy: that a long-term solution will come about only through the rule of law and the establishment of security on the ground.

Finally, allow us to express our best hopes for a successful outcome of the upcoming Istanbul Conference on Somalia, an outcome that will foster stability, security and the reconstruction of the country.

Mr. Li Baodong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): My delegation thanks you, Mr. President, for having convened today's meeting.

We welcome the presence of His Excellency Mr. Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of Djibouti. We

listened very carefully to his statement and we thank him for updating us on the situation. We greatly appreciate Djibouti's political and diplomatic efforts to maintain regional peace, security and stability, and in particular to promote the peace process in Somalia. We also wholeheartedly thank the Government of Djibouti for its valuable support for international cooperation against piracy.

In recent years, the persistent turbulence in the Horn of Africa has gravely frustrated peace, security and development in the region. Just last week, the Security Council considered the situation in Somalia (see S/PV.6313). The present situation in that country remains tense. The security situation is dismal, the humanitarian crisis grows worse and progress in the peace process is slow. The situation in Somalia is posing a grave threat to peace and security in the Horn of Africa and throughout the world. The international community should urgently work to find an appropriate solution to the question of Somalia as soon as possible, by actively supporting the Djibouti peace agreement and promoting the process of political reconciliation in Somalia, so that Somalia can restore peace and achieve reconstruction and development.

We hope that the upcoming Istanbul Conference will make a substantial contribution to resolving the problems of Somalia.

China has always been very concerned at the disputes between Djibouti and Eritrea. We hope that both countries are able to act in the interest of their bilateral relations and of regional peace and stability by resolving their differences through negotiation and dialogue, so that their traditional friendship can be restored. We applaud the Djibouti Government's political and diplomatic efforts to find a negotiated solution to the disputes with Eritrea. We support a greater mediation role for the African Union with respect to relations between the two countries. The Council should do more to promote the resumption of bilateral talks and the achievement of a negotiated solution.

Countries in the Horn of Africa can choose their friends, but not their neighbours. The countries of the region share many common interests. In recent years, we have noted that — whether on the Sudan, the conflict in the Great Lakes region or peace and security in West Africa — regional cooperation has yielded significant results in addressing regional disputes, easing tension and facilitating framework agreemen on relevant issues. We believe that there is quite a of space for negotiation, regional cooperation a dialogue on the question of the Horn of Africa.

We sincerely hope that countries of the regi will proceed on the basis of their long-term nation and regional interests and jointly and constructive create a harmonious environment in which all countri in the Horn will benefit from mutual cooperation.

Mr. Moungara Moussotsi (Gabon) (*spoke French*): Like speakers before me, I welcome t President of the Republic of Djibouti, His Excellen Mr. Ismail Omar Guelleh, and thank him for h detailed briefing on the situation in the Horn of Afri in particular the relations between his country and t neighbouring country of Eritrea. I am also grateful f the useful information he gave us regarding t situation in Somalia.

The situation that began in June 2008 on t border between the Republic of Djibouti and Erit can now be added to the litany of factors sowi confusion and hindering peace efforts and t development prospects for all Africa. Africa has oth challenges before it, in particular the practic hindering economic development, and can no long afford to spend scarce resources on military ventur that are as useless as they are unjustified. The bord dispute between Djibouti and Eritrea is a case in poi and my country calls on Eritrea to cooperate with t United Nations in accordance with the releva Security Council resolutions on this matter, includi resolution 1907 (2009), in order to bring that situati to a peaceful resolution.

Regarding Somalia, we share President Guelleh relevant analysis and welcome the role and significa involvement of the Government of Djibouti in t search for a solution that would allow his country find peace once again and thereby regain its place the community of nations.

We are also aware that the Government Djibouti was an initiator of the Djibouti Agreeme which enabled the establishment of the Transitio Federal Government in Somalia. As we have stated several occasions, Somalia remains a Member United Nations. Therefore, the Organization mu assume greater responsibility towards that Memb State, which has been afflicted by chaos for more th two decades. Greater support for the African Uni

Mission in Somalia is thus now more necessary than ever. We hope that the Istanbul Conference on Somalia will make a significant contribution to progress on the issue of Somalia.

Djibouti's involvement in the fight against piracy off the coast of Somalia must also be applauded. On this issue, we remain convinced that an effective solution to the piracy issue will depend on an appropriate response to the overall Somali problem.

The President (*spoke in Arabic*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Lebanon.

Like others before me, I welcome His Excellency Mr. Ismail Omar Guelleh, President of Djibouti, and thank him for his kind words addressed to my country, Lebanon.

We regret the border dispute between Djibouti and Eritrea and hope that it will come to an end as soon as possible. We stress and reiterate the importance of Djibouti's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and we reject all acts of aggression against that country. We also stress the importance of respect for Security Council resolution 1907 (2009), which calls on Eritrea to withdraw its forces from Djibouti forthwith. We also stress the importance of compliance with resolution 1862 (2009) so as to restore peaceful dialogue between the two countries and to return the situation to the status quo ante. We call on Eritrea to allow access to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), as called for by Djibouti.

We applaud Djibouti for the withdrawal of its forces and troops in compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. Resolution 1907 (2009), which imposes sanctions on Eritrea, was adopted as a result of the concern that Eritrea had not complied with previous Security Council resolutions. We stress the importance of ending any confrontation on the border between Djibouti and Eritrea.

With regard to Somalia, we would like to stress that the Djibouti peace process should be upheld, and we stress that efforts to resolve the situation in Somalia should not focus exclusively on the maintenance of security and stability. In particular, we would like to stress the following.

With regard to security, we emphasize the importance of providing training for security forces in Somalia, and we call on donors to provide the resources necessary to support the security sector in Somalia.

With regard to piracy, we stress the impact that this scourge has on international maritime routes and the obstacles it poses to the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Somalia. Economic development and efforts to fight poverty on land and to reach a political solution to the situation in Somalia are factors that will contribute to fighting piracy.

We condemn attacks against humanitarian workers and call on donors to respond to the humanitarian appeals that have been made. In the absence of an international peace force, we call on donors to support the African Union Mission in Somalia, and we commend the African Union's efforts to establish comprehensive peace in Somalia.

In conclusion, we applaud Djibouti for its efforts to revive peace in the Horn of Africa. We stress the importance of the Istanbul Conference on Somalia and of enhancing the cooperation between the United Nations and the African Union so as to establish stability in the Horn of Africa.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded this stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.40 a.m.